

*Charles Snell Kensington from the Author with
best Wishes for his Health, Happiness & Welfare*

SKETCHES

OF THE

CHARACTER, CONDUCT,

AND

TREATMENT

OF THE

PRISONERS OF WAR AT AUXONNE,
LONGWY, &c.

FROM

THE YEAR 1810 TO 1814.

WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EPIDEMIC,

AS IT APPEARED IN THE LATTER PLACE, IN 1813.

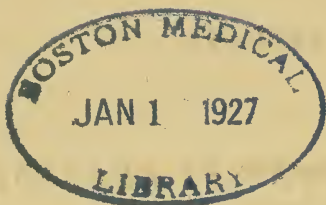
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London:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN,
PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1818.



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DEDICATION.

TO

THE HOSTAGES

DETAINED IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE ARRÊTÉ
OF MAY, 1803;

AND TO

THE PRISONERS

OF

THE UNITED KINGDOM, IN FRANCE, DURING
THE LATE WAR.

QUÆQUE IPSE MISERRIMA VIDI.
ET QUORUM PARS FUI.

THE Author knows not to whom he can with more propriety dedicate the following Pages, than to those, who were his fellow Sufferers during the late calamitous War. None at least, he is sure, can so well appreciate the Truths they are meant to impress, or be so thoroughly sensible of the fidelity of the picture he has traced in simple, though he hopes, not in feeble lines.

If indeed he can lay claim to any merit, it is to that of accuracy in his details, which he has

given in the plain and sober language of truth. He has not sought to embellish by the delicacy of his shadowing or the richness of his colouring. In no instance has he had recourse to the aid of imagination, or endeavoured to throw an air of romance around scenes of pure suffering and distress.

He has always been of opinion that facts make a deeper and more durable impression than indefinite or general declamation, which, however necessary to effect some momentary political purpose, at particular junctures, would in this case have the additional impropriety of appearing at a time, when all the passions, to which he could address himself, have been lulled asleep.

Facts unadorned make their way to the heart sooner or later ; while ornament is apt to create suspicion and doubt in the mind of the readers.

Those who, like the Author himself, were detained as Hostages by an act of the most unheard and enormous injustice, will best know the painful and aggravated feelings which accompanied this class of Prisoners during their unexampled captivity.

Their actual privations may not have been greater, and in some cases may have been less,

than those of others: but these had the consolation of reflecting that they were still in the service of their country, which watched over their fate, and was not unmindful of their merits or their misfortunes; while the former, drawn by momentary curiosity, or by laudable purpose, saw their prospects in life blasted, and an impenetrable gloom close around them.

The objects the Author has chiefly in view, in the present Production, are twofold.

First; A desire to draw attention to the necessity of a speedy liberation of prisoners during war by every means, that does not actually compromise the honour of the country. The situation, in which they are placed, he fears, has not been sufficiently understood; and he flatters himself that a long residence among them, and the nature of his profession, give him peculiar means of making it known.

Secondly; To leave some memorial of the Epidemic of 1813, so that the remembrance of this dire visitation might not totally perish with its victims, though happily few in number.

If he has been successful in both, or either, of these objects, he will be amply repaid.

The publication of these pages has been long

delayed by unforeseen circumstances, some of them painful to the Author himself, but which would be little interesting to others.

As far as he knows, however, no description has been yet given of the character, conduct, and treatment of Prisoners of War, modified, as they necessarily must be, by new and extraordinary situations.

These simple Records may open sources of reflection to the philosopher, or lend a feeble aid to the pen of the future historian or legislator. If they shall prove useful in any shape, he may be able to say with the poet, "Sweet are the uses of adversity, which, like the toad, ugly and venomous, wears yet a precious jewel on his head."

LONDON,
March 23, 1818.

PREFACE.

THE state of Prisoners of War in the Abstract, has employed the thoughts of Jurisconsults in all ages. It has always been accompanied with sufferings of no common kind. The days of Slavery are indeed past, but even in these enlightened times, when Charity and Humanity have spread their benign influence over Europe, their situation has in a great measure escaped observation, either from the constant hope of the speedy termination of hostilities, or from the supineness of Prisoners themselves, in not calling on the atten-

tion of the World in loud and emphatic language.

Is not a man to be reckoned a Slave, because he may hope one day to be free?

Is imprisonment within the narrow circumference of a Fortress, or of a Hulk, for ten or fifteen years, during the best years of his life, less a state of slavery on that account?

Are these graves of talent and mind, more dreadful in the eyes of an enlightened man, than the physical dissolution of the body again to be had recourse to; if the Demon of War should again stride over the face of Europe? It is surely within the scale of possibility.

I am therefore induced to lay before

the world, some of the details of a long captivity in France, which may serve as a ground or record of the state of Prisoners, I fear in every country, somewhat modified only, by situation or accident.

I had long, from professional motives, resolved on visiting Paris. The first opportunity that presented itself, was during the short peace of Amiens, and I availed myself of it.

In 1803, I was comprised in the *Arreté*, which constituted British subjects Prisoners of War in France, under the name of *detenus*, or hostages.

In 1805, I attempted, along with another professional man, Doctor Thomas Clark, to make my escape out of France, and

after having surmounted every difficulty, we were by one of those occurrences, which decide the fate of an enterprise, arrested.

We were forthwith conducted to the military prison of the fortress of Luxemburgh ; then to those of Longwy and Verdun ; in the last of which places, we were immured in the Tour d'Angoulême, and afterwards in a species of dog kennel, for the space of six weeks. This was not thought sufficiently severe for deserters of our description.

General Wirion being at length tired of having us so near him, ordered us next to the military prison of Metz. To this place we were marched on foot, along with a Cohue of French Malfaiteurs. Here we were soon after our arrival put au Secrét, and remained there in a species of oubli,

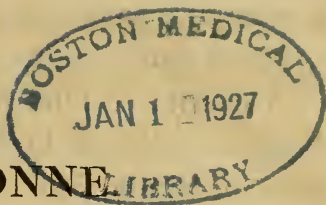
from the 25th of September to the 1st of the May following; by much the greater part of that time.

Some of our unfortunate countrymen were in the same situation as ourselves, breathing an atmosphere of the foulest and most offensive kind, arising from the latrines of the prison. Some of these were immediately underneath our windows; and some at the end of the passage which led to our cells. I was near sinking under these accumulated ills, having been under the influence of tertian intermittent, for upwards of eight months previous to this period.

At last, owing to the extraordinary escape of three British Prisoners out of this prison, it was no longer deemed sufficiently secure against the enterprise,

and determination of those who remained behind, and we were therefore along with the rest of the prisoners, between thirty and forty, conducted under a guard of horse, foot, and gen'd'armerie, which amounted nearly to our own number, to the fortress of Bitche, in the department of the Moselle, where we remained for six months.

Just before the memorable Prussian campaign in 1806, a kind of goal delivery took place, and we were among the first permitted to return to Verdun.



AUXONNE

PREVIOUS to the winter of 1809, the masters and mates of merchant vessels, prisoners of war in France, were disposed in different depots, as those of Verdun, Valenciennes, Cambray, Arras, &c.; but towards the latter part of that year, by an order of the Duke of Feltre, Minister of War, a distinct and separate depot was first established for them at Auxonne, in the department of the Côte d'Or.

The mates at this period, and for some time before, had received the same pay as the masters. They were therefore considered as sub-lieutenants. With them were included the passengers, or, as they were called, the merchant passengers, as also foreigners in the service of, or belonging to Powers in amity with Great Britain, some families, and a

few sailors, amounting, at the time of our quitting Auxonne, to 1436. x

A charitable fund (see App. No. I.) had been established in England; and it is very creditable to the character of the nation, that it was distributed to foreigners of every country in its service, in the same measure as to natives.

Though the order for proceeding to Auxonne was issued at a favourable season of the year, yet its distance from even the nearest depot was so great, as to make the journey expensive and troublesome, nay, hazardous to many of the prisoners. At this period, likewise, the cold weather set in and continued with little intermission and great intensity to the end of the spring following, when heavy rains first appeared.

No spring and winter similar to these had occurred, as I was informed, since the year before the Revolution.

Great ravages were committed in the villages, and even in some of the towns of the vicinity, by the wolves, which descended from the Jura in quest of food.

The mornings and evenings were remarkable for cold winds, which blew from

Note - Omitted to mention in the appendix, that in the course of 3 years from that period, their Numbers amounted to 1700 & upwards. J. G. P.

the north and north-east, while the middle of the day was rendered oppressive by a powerful sun.

To the fatigues of long journies, which the prisoners had almost always to perform in France, particularly after capture, were often added many privations, such as those of wholesome food and good lodging; for I may here observe, that, conducted as they were, by the *gen'd'armerie*, to certain resting places, pointed out on their *feuille de route*, and confined, as they were in general to a prison till the next *correspondance*, the prisoners, if indisposed, as they often were, did not meet with a proper place for repose; nor did their marching money, by-the-bye, the most liberal allowance of the French government, enable them to indulge in any superfluities.

The monthly pay, too, of each of the persons just alluded to, was twenty-nine francs, sixteen centiemes and a fraction, equal to about twenty-four shillings British, out of which he had to provide himself with every thing.

It is true, that the prisoners received assistance from their friends at home, and

were indebted to the humanity of the charitable fund for frequent aids ; but, with all this, their wants were still great, and their remittances reached them diminished nearly a third, during a great part of the time, owing to the unfavourable exchange, the accumulation of expences of various kinds, and other causes incident to a state of captivity.

Several of this brave and useful class of men had been prisoners upwards of six years.

With broken minds and ruined fortunes, they arrived at Auxonne, many of them in a bad state of health. The greater number being without money, and unacquainted with the language of the country, they found it very difficult to make known their wants or ailments.

Even the few, the very few, who, before I joined the depot, paid for advice or medicines, were not content with the French practice. The *medecine expectante* by no means suited the ardent character of these men.

A French physician very candidly told me, that my countrymen in general com-

pletely confounded all his notions of medicine. He could by no means make them submit to any regimen. “*Mon Dieu, Monsieur,*” he said with great surprise, “ils sortent le même jour qu’ils prennent des medecines. En agissant de cette maniere, ils s’exposent. Quelle inconsequence!”

The young and thoughtless suffered in many ways that may be imagined. Another cause, likewise, but of a more honourable nature, was instrumental in adding to the sickly state of the prisoners, namely, the breaking out of a fire in the town soon after our assembling, and which would have entirely consumed it, had it not been for their extraordinary exertions. It was not completely got under before the end of two days and two nights. Almost every prisoner in the depot suffered more or less from the accumulated ills of fatigue, want of rest, and of regular food. Those of delicate habits had their complaints much aggravated. Several met with accidents. The eyes of others were irreparably injured.

I have already taken notice of the scantiness of the French pay, to which I have to add, that every thing was either dear or

indifferent at Auxonne, from which were annually sent down the Soane, large quantities of grain to the southern provinces. Butcher's meat, more particularly mutton, bread also, and potatoes, were of an inferior quality ; wood was expensive and bad. Wine had greatly increased in price, as well as every kind of provisions, with the exception, perhaps of butter and milk, owing partly to our arrival and to the very long and rigorous cold. Their price was still further augmented by the arrival of the first regiment of horse-artillery, with a numerous train of horses ; and soon after, by that of a thousand infantry. These men were indignant at quitting the delicious climate of Italy, to encounter the harsh winds that blew from the Jura ; and they took it into their heads that we were the cause of their being sent into such a *trou*, as they not unaptly termed Auxonne. It then became extremely difficult for the prisoners to live, even with the aids already mentioned.

It may be necessary to notice, by the way, that Auxonne lies in a perfect flat. Along its western side passes the Soane,

which at certain seasons not unfrequently overflows its banks, enters the town, and inundates the country to a great extent. This took place during our residence there, and completely destroyed the hay-harvest all along the banks of that river. From the nature of its situation, this place is intolerably hot during the summer months. The winters, owing to the vicinity of the Jura, are for the most part long and rigorous, extending their influence even to the commencement of summer; thus, it may be supposed, greatly enhancing the price of all the necessaries of life.

From these causes, and more that might be enumerated, I found the depot uncommonly sickly, and in this state it continued for many months.

Verdun, the oldest depot in France, had a medical man attached to it from the beginning, and as the number of prisoners increased, new depots were necessarily formed, and medical men were appointed as soon as possible to each.

As soon, therefore, as one was ordered for the masters and mates of merchant vessels, a most useful class of men, and, I

may say, the most unfortunate of the prisoners in France, every thing that tended to meliorate their lot, necessarily occupied the thoughts of the Committee of Verdun. Some time before, a friend suggested to me the propriety of applying for the charge of a depot ; more especially as I received no pay from the French Government. Cambray was mentioned, no medical man being there at the time ; but unluckily for my application, twenty-seven sailors had deserted from that place, and it was presumed that the Minister of War would not even listen to any such petition at that moment.

Having early in life served in the army as a medical man, and made the profession my sole study after quitting it, I mentioned my desire of being employed to the late much-lamented General De Berniere, who approving it, as did others of the Committee of Verdun, I petitioned the Minister to be allowed to go to Auxonne ; to which, after a short time, he consented.

About this period I had the offer of either of the depots of Besançon or Briançon. For reasons, with which I think it

needless to trouble the public, I felt myself under the necessity of preferring, though infinitely more laborious, that of Auxonne, and accordingly set out from Verdun for that place without delay ; but was unable to reach it before the end of ten days, owing to the extreme rigour of the season, and the difficulty of procuring conveyances in many parts of the country through which I passed. From Nancy to Besançon I travelled in any carriage I could meet with, and these were open. At Epinal I had, as *compagnon de voyage*, an artillery-driver, with his wife, who, it would appear, had shared a great part of his dangers, as well as fatigues and privations, in different countries and in various battles. “Oui, ma Belle,” he would often say, “it is to your goodness and care I owe my life on various occasions, as well in inhospitable Poland, where every thing was denied, as during the horrors and confusion of the battles of Austerlitz, Jena, and Wagram.”

“Then you have been present at all these battles?” “Yes, Sir ; at Wagram I lost an eye and a finger, since which time I have

found my health materially injured. It was owing to a charge of cavalry, that would not have respected even the Emperor himself."

"Have you ever seen that extraordinary man?" "I was very near him that day," he replied. "How did he look? What was he doing?" "He looked very serious, had dismounted, and was rolling beneath his foot a cannon-ball. Monsieur," he added, "C'est un homme quasi immortel."

On leaving Plombieres, we met in a narrow part of the road some carriages, laden with lead-ore. Here we were obliged to come out of our's, take the horses from it, and by main strength pass it over the others, that we might avoid being precipitated into the ravine below. From the fatigue my fellow-traveller underwent, I found him, not long after, insensible and in convulsions, which required all my attention, as well as that of his wife, to the moment we arrived at Lexueil. From this latter place you soon descend into Franche Comté by regular and beautiful natural sweeps of road. At Vesoul I could find no other conveyance than a miserable voi-

ture, that carried the post of Besançon. It was open on all sides. We set off at nine at night, and on our arrival at the gate of Besançon, my good voiturier called me by the name of Donson, suspecting that I intended to desert. My papers were not demanded, and they could not see that I was a stranger. I easily passed on, and from the moment of my arrival at Auxonne, I resolved to join my fate to that of my unfortunate fellow-captives confided to my care.

Here I found that Mr. Masson Four, Pharmacien, had been recommended to the Committee, and was in complete possession of the good opinion of the great body of the depot, being ever ready to render any service in his power to our suffering countrymen. They could not have pitched on a more useful or intelligent man. He was a *Maitre en Pharmacie*, and was already known as a chemist, having published an *Analysis of the Waters of Jouhé*, in the Jura, and had been a member of several learned societies. Besides, Mr. Masson had an assistant. A person of this description was absolutely

necessary, as the sick and ailing were in great numbers for eight months after my arrival.

I agreed, therefore, to the recommendation of the gentlemen of the Committee. Jealousy for a moment disturbed the appointment, on account of another Apothecary, who, it was ascertained, had already too much on his hands, to be able, in any efficient way, to attend to the business of the depot. It had no effect. I felt myself, however, constrained to write the following note connected with the subject :

“ Monsieur,

“ J’ai l’honneur de soumettre à votre inspection l’incluse. Je pense que Monsieur en doit être bien content, s’il a réellement l’intérêt public en vue, et celui des Anglais, qui ont rendu à la ville des services, qu’il s’est plut à signaler, devant être parfaitement convaincu que les Anglais ne peuvent pas être mieux traités, que par une personne de leur nation, qui connaît et leur langage et leur temperament et leur habitudes.

“ Les en priver n’est pas un moyen de

temoigner sa reconnaissance, et je puis lui assurer, qu'ils en seroient très mecontents. Du reste, je renvoie Monsieur à la lettre de Son Excellence le Duc de Feltre, qui doit en être juge competent.

“ J'ai l'honneur d'être,

“ Avec une parfaite Consideration,

“ &c. &c.

“ F. MULVEY.”

“ A Monsieur

“ Le Commandant De Brosse.”

I was only a short time at the depot, when I learned by various letters from the sick in the hospital, that at the time, and for several months before, ill health had prevented the physician from attending. They were discontented with the medicines and the want of proper attendance, and requested to come under my care.

These circumstances, and the ill state of health of the physician, during which there was no professional man of their own country in the depot, were the cause why many went into the hospital, several of whom had only trifling complaints. Some of these would walk out after breakfast,

return in time to dinner, and again walk out till the hour of supper.

This, as may be easily conceived, gave great annoyance to those who were really sick. I beg leave here to remark, that the *Sœurs de la Charité*, under whose care they actually were, had no power of remedying these matters. While I only do justice to these respectable women, in bearing witness to the various acts of kindness and humanity, which they were incessantly occupied in rendering to the patients of every country, it would most assuredly be going too far to say, that they could supply the place of the physician, or that they had in their pharmacy those medicines, which I made it a rule to prescribe for the British sick, whom I treated in all respects as if they had been in their own country; even though all the important medicines, not the growth of France, were very dear during the war. In 1806, when I was a prisoner at Bitché, the common bark was as high as six livres the ounce, and was at all times after an expensive article.

The master, mariners, and mates, of whom this depot consisted, were in general

extremely averse to going into a French hospital, and hailed with satisfaction the arrival of a medical man of their own country. I trust, therefore, I shall be excused for saying, that they did not find their confidence misplaced, and that in him they always met with a friend, ready to attend to their most minute wants, and who from the nature of his profession, as well as from inclination, had it in his power to render them essential services.

Having already mentioned some of the causes which increased the sick list (see App. No. II.) in this depot, I shall proceed to take notice of other circumstances, which in time had a sensible effect. When first a man is made prisoner, he has to encounter a new mode of life. In whatever depot he may be placed, he is necessarily under control, and his ignorance of the language, and of forms and manners different from his own, make him fall into many errors, that may be injurious to him, and render his captivity more rigorous. In some depots, the slightest misconception of a written or verbal order, which might arise from these causes, would, at certain times,

lead to the Souterreins of Bitche. Should it be his good fortune to come under the direction of a worthy and intelligent commandant, these misconceptions are overlooked, or their impropriety pointed out. If, on the other hand, the Commandant happens to be of a different cast, the prisoner is either punished or otherwise harshly treated. This almost always produces ill humour on his part, and leads him to the commission of excesses he never thought of before.

The tranquillity of a depot may be disturbed in various other ways. For example, it is seldom found, that the different authorities act in concert. The commandant of the place, or d'armes, is frequently at variance with the commandant of the depot, more especially if the latter is his inferior in rank. The mayor, forming a part of the general police, is sometimes in a similar predicament with respect to both. His coadjutor, as well as the commissaire de police, necessarily range on his side. The bourgeois, who for the most part are very differently occupied, would wish to remain neuter, but are seldom permitted to do so.

In such a state of things, the prisoners almost always suffer in one way or other.

A hue and cry is often raised, and kept up against the great body of them, when any desertion has taken place, and the remainder, however innocent, are put under the strictest surveillance. Sentries are placed at an early hour at every point, and a system of espionage is established on all sides. From these causes, the French soldiery, though in general very civil, both in speech and manners, are sometimes forced to commit acts, for which they are by no means so blameable as those who give the orders.

The (see App. No. III.) *Chapeau à vendre*, and the *Blessure à l'aune*, as they facetiously term them, were not unknown during our captivity.

The unfortunate victim with us, often the most peaceable man in the depot, was well off, if along with the latter, he escaped imprisonment, either in the violon (so called from its being close and strait), or in the town-prison.

Reports the most improbable and false are transmitted to the general, and by the

general to the minister. The gates are shut, and free sortie is interdicted. I remember an unfortunate conscript, sentry over a powder magazine, who, desirous of getting quit of the service, blew a part of his hand away with his musket. When found in this state, the account he gave was, that some of the prisoners had attempted to blow up the magazine, and that in his struggle to prevent them, the piece went off. The story spread, and was eagerly swallowed by almost the whole of the panic-struck inhabitants of Auxonne, so strongly does fear operate, and lead to the belief of things the most improbable.

They forgot, for a moment, the astonishing exertions, the generous devotion of the prisoners during the great fire. Fortunately in this case, which too rarely happens, the tale was scouted from the first by Monsieur de Brosse, by the Commandant of the arsenal, and Doctor Saunié. At a conseil de guerre, the young man confessed the whole to be his own fabrication.

The sortie now interdicted, a new scene succeeds. As usually happens among numerous bodies of men, some are found

to concede more or less, and favouritism takes place. It was amusing to see the different modes each took to bring about similar ends, and the impenetrable veil, as he thought it was, under which his cobweb art was hid. Indulgence was shown to the faults of this description of persons, while the spirited and the good were sure to be neglected. The last description is not sufficiently accommodating, they are therefore doomed seldom or never to pass the gates, and to lead a life of comparative indolence, destructive to men accustomed before to active pursuits, and hence, they fall gradually into courses, which eventually hurt their health, and exhaust their purses. Parties are soon seen to form throughout the depot, and discontent becomes prevalent. Fresh reports are set afloat each day, to which in time, new measures, extremely rigorous, may be expected to succeed. The prison, and in time the hospital, sought as a refuge from it, become crowded.

With a view, no doubt, to deter from desertion, the commandant, Mr. Couley, exacted a parole d'honneur from the

prisoners, though they were at that time shut up within the fortress. This diabolical idea was said to be suggested to him, shall I say it, by an Englishman, now no more ; after which, should a prisoner desert and be taken, he no longer received any pay, the privation of which reduced him to the utmost misery.

Give us the liberty of sortie to a certain extent, and under certain limitations, was the universal cry, and then we cannot object to giving our parole. Twenty-eight prisoners refused to give it. They were immediately transferred in the most arbitrary manner to the prison of the town, where they remained some months during the winter of 1812. While this severe trial lasted, several became unwell, owing to the cold and damp of the prison.

I immediately gave them certificates of ill health, and they were sent to the hospital of Metz. A few were at length permitted to come out ; but two or three less complying were sent ironed to Bitche. While this is an imperfect sketch of the situation to which prisoners may be reduced, what do they not encounter on the

route to their depot, as also at the time of their capture? I have seen them at different times, to the amount of some hundreds, arrive in a state of comparative nakedness; many under the influence of fever as well as other dangerous complaints; some with very serious accidents. Here was an abundant source of illness and tedious convalescence. They arrived at all times of the year from the wide extended coasts of the French empire, being *en route* for weeks, often for months, their usual lodging a jail, perhaps the cachot, sometimes a donjon. Bereft of his property, deprived of the fond expectation of seeing his family and friends, his future prospects in life perhaps blasted for ever, he sets foot on France as on a terra incognita, ignorant of the language, manners, and customs. This is undoubtedly the most grievous and overwhelming moment in the lot of a prisoner.

I have now pointed out some of the sources from which the sick list was drawn, and have, I trust, sufficiently proved the great utility, I might say, absolute necessity, of appointing a medical man of the same nation, provided such can be had, which

was not always the case during our captivity in France.

I may here mention, that, at Longwy, where we resided for two years and ten months, there was no hospital nearer than Metz; to arrive at which, owing to the *correspondance*, as it was termed, of the *gen'd'armerie*, required a journey of two days. Owing to this circumstance, it was found impossible to transport thither any one seriously ill from disease or accident.

To counteract the irksome and inactive state, which loss of liberty necessarily brings, it was curious and amusing to observe the different means the prisoners took to beguile the time, as fancy, or inclination, or knowledge impelled. It may be safely averred, that no class of men could display in captivity more various resources of hand and head than the British seamen. With fewer instruments, and in less time than other men, I have known them perform the most beautiful and complicated works. There were to be found in the depot, some accurate painters of sea-views, of landscape, and even of the human figure; Several good musicians, who, by this

charming art, enlivened many a gloomy hour; excellent navigators, not merely in practice, but in theory, who studied every branch that had hitherto been invented or discovered; ship-building, practised either on the rude block, or laid down with the utmost exactitude on paper, according to rule, engaged others.

In a word, every trade, whether of convenience or use, was to be found in the depot; and such was the versatility of talent, that it only required a thing to be shown or described, and in a short time there would be found proficient.

In their domestic concerns, too, it was pleasing to observe the order and arrangement of some of their apartments. Though, as has been noticed, their means was so scanty, rigid economy performed miracles. Each person took week about to cater and cook. Excellent judges of butcher's meat, their food was plain and wholesome. Though the barrack rooms were small, and from fourteen being allotted to each, were necessarily crowded, yet they were washed every week during summer, and many were regularly whitewashed at the beginning of

the season. The ornamental arts were not neglected ; and dancing-masters, who had not perfected their calling in France, might receive lessons from the young prisoners in the contredanse Française. These gallant tars soon became, to use a French expression, *des hommes aimables*. Some paid their court to the fair of the country, and married into respectable families. The rough diamond was polished in France ; its intrinsic worth remained the same. Schools were opened, where reading, writing, arithmetic, mathematics, algebra, and navigation, were taught. The French language, too, was not neglected. Independent of the numerous private schools in the depot, the Committee opened one, where the children, the sailor boys, in a word, all those who did not receive the pay of officers, were admitted and instructed at the expence of the charitable fund. To these, in general, captivity might be said to be useful. Arriving at the depot with little or no previous instruction, many made considerable progress in different branches ; and, after a time, some even opened schools for teaching the French language. Persons were appointed

to read the church of England service twice every Sunday in the depot. Psalms and hymns were practised every evening.

The sectaries, generally Methodists, were numerous. They began the day in prayer, which was repeated more than once or twice in loud orisons. They were sober and regular in their habits, and zealous in making converts, by which pious work they often succeeded in saving from impending ruin great sinners, such as they allowed themselves formerly to have been.

As a professional man, I thought that they pushed their zeal too far in calling on the sick without my knowledge. After frequent expostulations on the propriety of attending to the health of the body as well as that of the soul, they had at length the good sense to desist. One of the most exemplary men in the depot was incessantly employed in doing all the good in his power, but had the misfortune to be so incurably deaf, that it was necessary to carry on communication with him by means of a tube, which did not fail, in spite of his good intentions, greatly to distress the sick. I have heard the French several times observe, that they left the churches of the

Roman Catholic prisoners, impressed with respect by the decency and unaffected piety of their behaviour.

I wish it were in my power to draw a veil over the excesses and consequent evils of various kinds that a love of strong drink produced in some of the prisoners. This is one of the dire effects of the species of exile we suffered in France. *Qu'est ce que la raison quelquefois contre la captivité.*

While there were men in the depot whose conduct would do honour to any station, it would be paying a compliment at the expence of truth, if I said there were no exceptions. The health and morals of these suffered terrible inroads, and rendered them subject in time to every variety of disease and distress. The fatal habit, just mentioned, became every day more inveterate. It got to its height at Longwy, where some of the officers, in order to gratify this baneful propensity, mortgaged their pay; some too, of the other class, their little allowance and rations; and both, at length, put in pledge every thing that belonged to them. Regular meals were given up, and the unfortunate persons became the victims of disease or accident. If truth obliges me

to take notice of such circumstances, it is not merely to recal or bring to view painful scenes that are past, but with the hope of producing future good. Perhaps they are inseparable from a long protracted captivity ; and I may be allowed to hope, that it may act as an incentive to governments to put an end as soon as possible to such miseries, even though attained by considerable sacrifices. If national pride is given up to the cause of humanity few will blame them.

Some of these unfortunate men, though not unwell at the time, sought an asylum from their creditors in the hospital of Metz. It was in vain they were informed by me, that they would be shut up in one ward from the moment of their presenting themselves. In vain I refused certificates to those whose complaints were trifling or unfit for an hospital. The general, at length informed of the numbers, that, under false pretences, made their way into the hospital, wrote to the Commandant de la place (see App. No. IV.) respecting this abuse, who in consequence addressed an order to the commandant of the prisoners. This order was little else than a

cover, that he might have it in his power to prove, that he had obeyed, to the utmost, the orders of the general, while its real operation was to put money in the pocket of a certain French medical person, who, though appointed and paid by his own government for this very purpose, was in the habit of granting certificates of ill health on receiving a *douceur* of even a trifling sum. It may naturally be supposed the hospital became more crowded than before. The ingenious plan was suggested to those with slight complaints, as well as to those deemed incurable, neither of whom were entitled to remain in the hospital of Metz, of returning to Longwy, procuring his certificates for complaints which they had not, and thus again taking up their abode in their former quarters.

To the eternal disgrace of the general at Metz, Baron Roget, the unfortunate Longwy prisoners were shut up in one ward from the instant of their arrival to that of their quitting the hospital. The night before their leaving Metz, they were thrust into the military prison of the city, thus adding to the chances of disease. It was alleged as an excuse for this barbarous

treatment, that the prisoners brought along with them a bad character from Auxonne, namely, an incurable propensity to desert, as if it were not sufficient to be a captive and an invalid without being exposed to the great risk of contracting new and perhaps more dangerous disorders; a circumstance which very often happened. As the greater number of these persons had trifling complaints, this unheard of confinement, nor is it surprising, forced them into some irregularities, such as sitting up late at night, to the great annoyance of those who were really sick. (See App. No. V.)

Reports were now and then adroitly spread by the authorities of the place, with a view principally to prevent desertion. Letters were often received from prisoners in the other depots filled with the news then in circulation; and these were carefully transmitted whenever the word liberation was mentioned.

Sometimes the flying reports of persons passing through the place, or of the couriers going to or coming from the armies, were eagerly listened to; so natural is it, at a distance from one's country and friends, to believe what we ardently desire.

At certain periods, our expectation of liberation was wound to the highest pitch, more particularly at the time Mr. M'Kenzie was negotiating an exchange of prisoners at Morlaix in 1810.

After great agitation, our hopes were blasted by a letter received from that gentleman, at Auxonne, and we sunk into the deepest despondency. I trust I shall be excused for particularizing these alternations. Every one, who has been a captive, will participate with me the feelings that urged me to give them a place, however little they may interest the generality of readers. Usual pursuits and occupations were now for the most part laid aside; and the gloom continued till the balm of time brought us back to our usual state.

From this period desertion became frequent from every depot in France; and our's, as may be easily supposed, partook of the general impulse.

No issue, by which the prisoner could escape, was left unexplored. Every sort of disguise was assumed.

The Jura, the Vosges, and the Alps, were crossed. Some traversed France as far as

the Pyrenees, and then passed into Spain. Boats and larger craft were seized on different shores. Italy, too, and the south of France were tried, and successfully, by many. Several reached the Channel, the Weser, and the Elbe. Some explored their way to Denmark, Sweden, and even to Russia.

The Meuse, the Moselle, the Rhine, and the Danube, have been swum or crossed in different ways. The same courage and perseverance carried others through Germany by different routes. A few got to the Euxine, and from thence home by the Mediterranean.

Patriis in sedibus det mihi posse mori.

The most rigorous measures were in consequence resolved on. It was found that nothing could deter the prisoners from deserting; neither the want of free sortie, nor solitary confinement, nor the souterrains of Bitche. Several of those who had deserted from Auxonne were arrested and conducted to the military prison of Dijon (see App.

No. VI.) at which place they expected to be brought before a conseil de guerre, and nothing less than the gallies were apprehended as a punishment.

About this period the general of division, Veaux, arrived at Auxonne, I think for the third time. Our Commandant then was a Colonel Bertrand of the gen'd'armerie. At his first visit he sent the commandant of the place, Champnœuf, for me, expressed his happiness at seeing an English professional man with the prisoners, hoped they were sensible of their good fortune, and was pleased to express himself satisfied with the reports made concerning my care of the sick.

He now appeared much irritated at the desertions. His first words were uttered not very distinctly; whether owing to passion, want of teeth, or paralysis, for his mouth was turned a little to one side, I know not; but I showed by my looks that I did not understand him.

“Monsieur le Docteur ne me comprend pas,” exclaimed he, “Demande pardon,” answered Colonel Bertrand.

The general then put me in mind how

much he had proved himself at all times the friend of the prisoners ; “ but they prefer passing by the ramparts rather than the gates,” said he.

“ Permit me, General, to observe, that for a long time (see App. No. VII.) they were not allowed to pass the gates.” “ They have that permission now, and abuse it,” answered the General. “ *Monsieur, vos compatriotes sont très attachés a leur patrie. Ils aiment beaucoup à la revoir. I received a letter yesterday,*” I think he said, from his brother, “ in which he informs me, that Germany is full of troops, as are likewise Switzerland and the Vallais. If taken, as taken they most assuredly will be, they will be shut up in some citadel or strong fortress. Diable ! what is it these gentlemen want ?” “ *Leur liberté, Monsieur le Général.*” “ That I can’t give them. *A la fin, Monsieur le Docteur. Ces Messieurs seront très assurément renfermés.*”

On whatever side we viewed our situation, it was a most dreary one. Many of the prisoners were on the eve of completing their eighth year of captivity, when, towards

the latter part of January 1811, an old lieutenant of gen'd'armerie arrived at Auxonne to take the command, as was said, instead of Colonel Bertrand.

He came indeed ; but it was at Longwy that he assumed the command, where, for upwards of two years, he inflicted on the prisoners all the ills, that a weak head and a perverse heart could suggest. Power, which is not easily borne even by the most self-controlled, becomes galling in the extreme, when in the hands of incapacity and meanness. Perhaps there was not a man in the depot, under the command of this person, that was not his superior in every moral respect. Our situation, then, may be guessed at. For near a month previous to our translation to Longwy he was engaged in taking down, en cachette, the signalement, with the renseignements of each prisoner. When these were completed, a sudden order was given for our quitting Auxonne. He preceded us as the harbinger of vengeance all along the road which the depot had to pass, exciting against us, as he afterwards did at Longwy, the prejudices of all ranks of people.

The *refrain* or burden of his cry was, a people without faith, composed of deserters, and of aiders and abettors of desertion. Not a person belonging to the depot, the writer of this excepted, was allowed to go unguarded to Longwy.

On my way thither, I stopped two or three days at Dijon, at which time General Baille, of Troyes, commanded instead of Veaux, then at Paris. I took the opportunity of requesting him to permit several families and others, belonging to the depot, to go unguarded to Longwy, and I obtained the permission for some. For my own permission, (see App. No. VIII.) I was indebted to our late Commandant, De Brosse. Colonel Bertrand, (see App. No. IX.) who, though he spoke of me in the most flattering terms, had refused it, and gave as a reason, in a whisper, that I had been at Bitche.

“ Well, Colonel,” said I, “ surely that circumstance was known at the time I set out from Verdun, and yet I was permitted to come freely to Auxonne; but I have no cause, Colonel, to blush for having been

at Bitche. They have, who sent me thither, and those also, who are the cause of my being detained unjustly in the country."

I observed, that whenever Bitche was spoken of before the French, they made the *gros yeux*, believing it to be the *ne plus ultra* of punishment, and that those only were sent thither, who were *très mauvais sujets*. As to the real causes of their confinement or treatment while there, they knew nothing. In the course of eleven years captivity, I have known a great number of men imprisoned in that fortress for years, many of whom were distinguished either for their rank or property, their talents, or good conduct. As for the unfortunate men in the humble classes of life, who passed the whole of their captivity in the *Souterreins* of Bitche, they were treated like wild beasts of the forest, when caught; what wonder then, if, when hope was extinguished in their bosoms, they committed excesses, from which their superiors are not always exempt?

From the consideration of such a person as the Commandant of Longwy, I turn

with pleasure to the contemplation of Monsieur de Brosse, our first Commandant.

Though I am incapable of doing him all the justice he merits, it would be unpardonable in me, to withhold my feeble tribute to his worth.

Of all the Commandants, who had been placed at the head of the merchant mariners, he was by far the best. He was the only one, who took an enlightened view of the situation, and character of the men under his charge, always pointing out, when there was a question of employing military rigour, that they had never been accustomed to such discipline, and that their faults arose from thoughtlessness, rather than from design. He showed himself at all times their friend, interesting himself with a truly paternal zeal in their favour. Not a day passed, that was not marked by some kind or beneficial act; in a word, he employed his whole interest and power for the general, as well as individual good, of the prisoners. (See App. No. X.)

Unhappily for us, this fortunate state of things endured only about a twelvemonth, at the end of which time, he felt himself

constrained to retire, owing to pitiful coteries, cabals, and calumnies. How sincerely we deplored his loss, I need not mention.

I shall now for the present take my leave of Auxonne, and beg my reader to accompany me to Longwy.

LONGWY.



THE depot was removed from Auxonne at a season more propitious than that at which it had arrived. It was during the spring of 1811. The weather was most favourable, continuing very fine during the whole of the march to Longwy, a period of seven weeks, the time occupied by the different detachments, eighteen in number, in arriving at their destination.

In leaving Auxonne, we got quit of a very unhealthy residence, and were every day approaching a climate more congenial to our constitutions.

The town of Longwy stands in a remarkably healthy situation, commanding an extensive and beautifully-varied prospect. The necessaries of life are cheaper, and much better than at Auxonne. The character, however, that had been given of us on the road by our newly-appointed

Commandant, had made such unfavourable impressions on the inhabitants, that we were exposed to continual vexations and miseries, and were incapable of enjoying the genial sun that shone upon us. At Longwy, likewise, the prejudices against us were extremely strong, and we soon experienced all the effects of the Commandant's opinion or policy. At the beginning, he ordered three appels in the day, an absence from any of which led to imprisonment. The barracks were strongly enclosed at all points with chevaux de frise. At first a few only could obtain permission to reside in town.

Seven beds and fourteen persons in each room, left no space for convenience. Several messes hired places in town for cooking, and though there were beds there, none at first were permitted to sleep in them.

There was no regular sortie for five-and-twenty months after our arrival, though I obtained it for myself and some others, with some difficulty, from the Minister of War. The ramparts were on no account to be approached. To look on them even,

was construed into a design to desert. The prisoners, therefore, were confined to the town, which is very small, and served the purpose only of a larger prison. This state of things continued to the spring of 1813, during which time the prisoners experienced every species of vexation, as well as restraint, and this, among others, was one great source of desertion.

A report of these abuses, and their consequences, at last drew the attention of his Excellency the Duke of Feltre, then Minister of War. He ordered an administration to be formed, composed of French and British, who were empowered to receive, and afterwards to lay before the higher authorities, any grievances, vexations, and wants, which the prisoners might desire to have redressed.

The administration was formed of the Commandant of the place, the *Commandant of the depot*, the Town Major, aided by the *Secrétaire Ecrivain*. To these were added two British prisoners. The results of these meetings were forwarded to the General of Division, who sent them on to Paris for the final decision of the Minister.

At first the meetings took place at regular periods. They soon, however, became less frequent, and our representatives, no doubt, were not sorry to be exempt from meetings where they found they had little or no influence, even in the few things confided to their charge. This was so much the case, that finding no change, after having mentioned to our Committee the ruinous state of several of the barrack rooms, stair-cases, windows, &c. as well as the melancholy situation of some sailor boys, who lay ill of typhus in one of the stables, I was induced to ask one of the administrators how far their powers extended? "Not far," he answered; "we have to do with nothing but the pay and the rations." At this period, and for a considerable time before, several of each class of prisoners mortgaged their pay; and the rations of meat were execrable.

These, and many other abuses still continuing, the Minister of War was at length induced to send one of his Aides-de-Camp, a Major Baltazar, to Longwy, in the spring of 1813, with full power to look into and correct them. By public affiche

he invited the prisoners to expose openly their grievances. Though I heard of this public notice, I considered it merely as a matter of form, and paid no attention to it. It appeared, however, that immediately on his arrival he had inquired for me. Shortly after this, I saw him in the presence of several hundred prisoners, having the moment before dismissed all the French authorities of the *place*.

He now addressed the prisoners, telling them that he came to Longwy by order of the Minister, to inquire into abuses, and to remedy them as far as lay in his power.

I then mentioned to him that the prisoners were extremely discontented at their long and close confinement, which, independent of the continual irritation it kept up, had a powerful effect in increasing the sick-list, and causing tedious convalescence.

I also took the liberty of saying, that the Commandant of the depot, who was entrusted with the power to permit sortie in certain cases, often refused it to some of the most respectable men belonging to it. He seemed incredulous at first. "Que

faire, donc, Monsieur le Docteur ?” “ By all means,” I answered, “ give permission to the whole of the depot to go out. It will be, Sir, but just ; and thus only you will prevent the jealousies, discontents, and heartburnings, which take place at present.”

“ Might the prisoners,” said the Major, “ not go out each day, two or three hundred at a time ?”

“ I beg leave to say, that will never do. The weather may be such that they cannot avail themselves of such permission. Besides prisoners are not at all times disposed to go out, nor may they, owing to certain engagements, be able to take advantage of it. They may be unwell, or have something to do on the very day their turn comes round.”

“ But suppose that free sortie should be granted to all the prisoners,” said the Major, “ how are they to be brought back ?”

I replied, that should that favour be granted, I was persuaded that not one desertion more than formerly would take place, perhaps not so many, “ and I pledge myself that it will be found so.” He asked me, if there were any other things com-

plained of in the depot? I answered, that I had at different times heard of many, “but each of the prisoners, whom you see here, can explain them much better than I can do.”

A very short time after the Major's return to Paris, an order arrived from the Minister of War, granting a free sortie to the whole of the depot.

Not long after this, about seventy persons, composed for the most part of sailor boys, some under-tonnage masters, a few old men and children, were sent to Sarre Libre. As they only received rations, &c. they were now for the first time considered by the superior authorities as not entitled to remain in a depot of officers, and were besides, as soon as it was known that they had made an affecting representation of their privations and wants to Major Baltazar, considered as troublesome guests. The greater number of these poor people, to eke out their scanty rations, were happy to be employed in little services, for which they received a trifling gratuity; they performed the offices of cooks, washed rooms, sawed fire-wood, &c.

The sailor boys were either with their parents, or masters, or friends, who assisted them as well as they were able ; and they had the advantages of instruction in the school under the superintendence of the Committee. Of all these they were in a great measure deprived, from the moment they were translated to a depot of sailors. The old men and children ought to have been exempted under every point of view, from such a sweeping order.

With much difficulty I was able to prevent a delicate lad about 20 years of age, with a most dangerous complaint, the largest spina bifida I ever saw, from being separated from his father.

I interested myself, as did others also, for an old man between 70 and 80, in the hope that he might be allowed to remain. It was in vain ; yet in the old way, owing to favouritism, several got permission to return to the depot a very short time after quitting it. From these were excluded the old men, who not long after wrote to me, that they suffered greatly at Sarre Libre, from being deprived of the aids they had now and then obtained among

their friends at Longwy. I sent their letters to the Major, through whom an order was immediately transmitted to the General, and the remainder were permitted to return to Longwy.

From facts such as these, it may be seen how little benefit resulted from the appointment of administrators in some depots, and under certain Commandants. Men have been sometimes found spirited enough to resign their situation, when they saw that they only lent their name to injustice, and that the vices, which had crept in, were too strongly rooted to be eradicated by their means.

Their failure, however, is not to be attributed to the British administrators; and in no instance, if I may be permitted to say so, to the Duke of Feltre, who at all times paid the utmost attention to the petitions of the prisoners.

We have seen, that it was by his orders, that Major Baltazar came to Longwy. His choice, as far as I was able to judge, could not have fallen on a more fit person. He remained for three or four days at Longwy, continually occupied about the prisoners, and evincing throughout, much

ability, and the greatest patience. It was through his means, that the Commandant was changed, and in his room, Monsieur Rey de Morande appointed, who, both at Longwy and Chatellerault, conducted himself towards the prisoners with perfect impartiality; and, when occasions presented, always protected them with much firmness. It was under him, that the mortgaging of pay ceased, and the rations became better. He was ably seconded by his Marechal des Logis Lebrun, whose name I take a pleasure in recording.

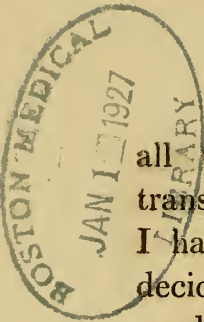
Longwy, from political changes, being no longer possessed of its former importance, had been deprived of its hospital, and there was none nearer than Metz, where the prisoners could not arrive till the second day.

The inconvenience was great and apparent, and, accordingly, as soon as I saw the General of Division, Baron Roget, I requested that he would grant room sufficient for receiving those prisoners, who might meet with any sudden accident, or labour under any other serious complaint; he would by no means allow any

thing of the kind. I was therefore obliged to do the best I could under such circumstances, it being impossible to transport those really unwell to such a distance as Metz. Two years after this period, Monsieur le Baron was very desirous that an hospital should be established at Longwy, at the expense of the Charitable Fund.

“Your countrymen,” said he, “have already established one or two at Sarre Libre.” It was now too late, as the funds were not sufficient for the expenditure required by the daily increasing numbers of the prisoners. The establishment of an hospital was therefore resisted, not merely on this account, but because it was contrary to the spirit as well as letter of the Duke of Feltre’s orders, viz. (see App. No. XI.) that whatever was allowed by the French government, should never be paid out of the funds for the prisoners.

Though such an establishment, from being immediately under the eye, was very desirable to the medical man, under every point of view ; yet, from being a prisoner, he could not long expect to have the necessary control. For this reason, and on the maturest consideration, taking into view

all the chances of liberation, and the translation of depots to different places; I have no hesitation in giving it as my decided opinion, that the establishment of an hospital by any charitable fund, is almost impracticable in a state of captivity, and attended with a vast outlaying or expenditure of money, that might be more usefully employed among the sick, and indigent class of prisoners.

Luckily for the depot of merchant mariners, the kindness and attention of the prisoners to each other, during sickness or accident, remained unabated for the long space of four years and upwards, and made the want of an hospital infinitely less felt by them, than it was by the professional man.

I hope that the facts and observations related in different parts of this little work, will not be wholly without their use, should similar circumstances ever unfortunately occur.

Above all, it would afford me the most sincere and lasting happiness, if they should in any degree be the means of calling the attention of governments to the

state of prisoners of war, in order to put as speedy a stop as possible to the useless and cruel waste of talents and industry, which must of course take place during a protracted captivity.

Had my professional duties afforded me more time, and my situation been less embittered by a hopeless state of captivity, these pages would be found perhaps more worthy of the public eye. However, should health and leisure permit, these sketches will be followed by another work, which it is hoped may still be of further use to Prisoners of War.

LONGWY.

SKETCH OF THE EPIDEMIC.

THE three last months of 1813, and the first part of January, 1814, were remarkable for important events, and serious complaints, in which the whole of the depot, more or less, participated.

Towards the end of the autumn of 1813, bowel complaints were very general at Longwy. These were succeeded by pulmonary attacks, from which the delicate suffered very much, and which, at length, under the form of pneumonia notha, swept away almost the whole of the aged French inhabitants. Some of the worst cases of phthisis with us, proved fatal at Longwy; while others with similar complaints, went to the hospital of Metz, from which they never returned.

It is proper here to remark, that the summer of 1813 was unusually dry and hot, during which we experienced a great scarcity of water. The autumn and first part of the winter, were cloudy and thick, particularly in the months of November and December, during which a dense fog arose, that covered the surface of the earth, and continued without interruption almost to the beginning of January.

This state of the atmosphere was extremely injurious to health. Over these noxious vapours the sun had little or no power, and their influence was felt during the night as well as the day. In December, in particular, the ravages of disease were most widely extended both amongst the French and the English.

Among the former, some died in consequence of accumulation of blood in the lungs, others from determination of blood to the head, and not a few from violent attacks of fever, with remittent type, &c.; all of them induced or aggravated by the state of the atmosphere. It was remarked of the French by the prisoners, that the

mortality was peculiarly great among the men in office.

Though sickness was very generally among us, and many were slightly indisposed, yet we were now buoyed up with the hope, that the magic spell, by which we had been so long bound, was about to be broken.

In a state of captivity, news is at all times eagerly listened to, particularly if it is favourable to our hopes or wishes; but at this period, and for some time past, the real state of affairs in France could no longer be concealed. The impression it made was visible on the countenances of all the French inhabitants, and was rendered deeper by the domestic losses each family had already sustained. A dreadful suspense reigned thus throughout. Meanwhile disease continued its ravages among the prisoners, and relapses were frequent, owing to their imprudence, in exposing themselves, while ill, to the influence of the atmosphere.

Towards the latter part of November, the low or nervous fever made its appearance, and was most frequent in the month

of December, during which, from a census taken in the town and barracks, by the Commandant of the depot, the sick and complaining were found to amount to about 150 daily.

Disease was now become epidemic both among the French and the prisoners, and operated in different people in different ways, eliciting and discovering any latent predisposition in the system. A most curious field was therefore laid open for the study of disease with its various anomalies. These lessons I may observe can be most satisfactorily learned, where a large assemblage of men have resided together for some time, with whose constitutions and habits the professional man has become perfectly acquainted.

That the epidemic, of which I am attempting to give some account, arose from the cause assigned, and not from contagion, is sufficiently clear, since it was not confined to Longwy, but extended itself over the vicinity, and wherever the fogs prevailed.

As soon too, as the sharp, dry, and clear weather set in, it had a powerful effect in mitigating its symptoms, and lessening the

number of invalids. I may observe, that immediately before this period, the disposition to contract disease seemed greatest, and the minds of all ranks of people were in agitation and alarm. Disease now assumed a marked typhoid character. Few then could be induced to attend the sick, and the accumulated distresses of the times, more especially among the French, made them frequently abandon themselves to despair.

As a further proof of what has been just mentioned regarding the decided influence of the atmosphere, it invariably occurred among the prisoners of Longwy, that the aged and the women suffered little from disease, being exempt from appels, and in consequence not obliged to expose themselves to the influence of the fogs, while the young and middle aged were indiscriminately attacked.

It will not, I hope, be considered irrelevant, if I take notice of the following circumstances.

As soon as the general deroute of the French army was no longer problematic, orders were issued by the Minister of War, that the Commandants of the depots of

British prisoners should march them forthwith to certain towns, or fortresses in the interior of France. Our unfortunate countrymen at Bitche, being nearest the Rhine, took the lead. They bade a final adieu to their gloomy and dreary abodes, the Sou-terreins, I believe, on the 2nd of November.

They passed, not long after, under the walls of Longwy, and I saw, gave advice, and ordered medicines to many of that depot at Chatellerault, in the department of the Vienne, the beginning of March, 1814, being then on their route for Clermont, in Auvergne. The length of time alone, proves what the unfortunate prisoners of Bitche must have undergone, comprising, as it did, a period of four months of the depth of winter, during which they had to combat with every species of privation, and were continually exposed to the influence of weather, that was marked with every variety of severity and rigour.

The depot next to Bitche, was that of Sarre Louis. This was soon after broken up, and translated to Bapaume, a district in the Pays de Calais.

From the information of the prisoners, who passed by, we had reason to believe, that our turn was approaching.

The whole of the depot now vibrated between hope and fear : hope of long-wished-for liberation ; fear of disease, which was so general and dangerous.

At this momentous period, the French were forced to cross the Rhine. Their sick and wounded were directed by different routes into the interior of France. As soon as it was known, that considerable numbers were to pass through Longwy, I was asked by one of the Authorities, if I would lend my assistance in the cure of the wounded. —“ Most willingly,” I replied.

An ambulance, a word sometimes applied to an hospital prepared in a hurry, was for the first time established at Longwy, in order to receive those among the French whose wounds, or illness, made it impossible to transport them farther.

A short time before this, the fortress of Metz was shut up, and the British sick in the hospital there, were sent back to the depot.

It is necessary to keep in mind, that the

passage of these brave, but unfortunate men, took place during the severest period of the fogs. They arrived by hundreds in the month of December, at 7, 8, and sometimes as late as 9 o'clock each night, by torch light, in open carts with scarcely any covering.

The Adjoint, for the Mayor was dead, had the *Maison des Communes*, or Town-house, prepared for them, and rendered as comfortable as circumstances would permit.

To describe the state of the sufferers would be impossible, and were it possible, would be heart-rending. Exposed for 9 or 10 hours in open carts, during the shortest days of a winter the most dreary and inclement, under the pressure of every species of distress, disease, wounds, extenuation from fatigue and want, they arrived in the most deplorable state at Longwy, and were sent off the following morning in a similar way, in order to make room for others of their countrymen in similar circumstances. At the time of taking them out of the carts, of which charitable work our gallant countrymen had the sole honour, several were found dead, while others

breathed out their last breath the moment they were laid on the straw. Few were the wounds, that in such circumstances did not become dangerous. Many were dreadful. Complete mortification had taken place in numerous instances, so that here and there lambeaux of putrid flesh came away in one's hand. To this dire catalogue are to be added the last stage of Fever, with its concomitant, low delirium, Diarrhœa of the very worst species, accompanied with all the distress attendant on that situation.

So dreadful was the present crisis, so much was the public mind occupied and agitated with the threatening, I should rather say horrid aspect of affairs, that it was surprising that a total abandonment of the sick and wounded did not follow during their passage through the country, as well as in the town. At Longwy I can bear witness, that every care was taken of them principally by the inhabitants, who did every thing in their power to meliorate the lot of their unfortunate countrymen. Every place was ransacked for old linen, and charpie was prepared in abundance.

Medicines were provided. Vessels filled with the best soup were got ready and distributed among them each night on their arrival. The few who were able to make use of meat, had it along with excellent wine in sufficient quantity, according to their respective wants.

The following morning, all those who survived, or were at all able to proceed, were put into carts, in which they moved on to their destination.

I have already noticed the generous kindness and humanity of our countrymen, who assisted these unfortunate men both in and out of the carts, and rendered them, during their stay, every service that was required, with an adroitness and alacrity truly admirable ; aiding them in offices of the most disgusting nature, things that are only done by the truly good and brave ; but above all, the female sex shone pre-eminent at this crisis. Young and interesting females, accompanied by, and under the direction of sober matrons, attended every evening both the wounded and dying, supplying them with every thing deemed necessary in their deplorable

state. I do not mention these circumstances merely for the purpose of swelling these pages, or exciting sympathy for sufferings that are past. They are facts literally related, that occurred under my own eye, and serve at once to display the miseries of war, and the misfortunes of captivity.

As sickness pressed on every side, I admonished those who were ailing not to expose themselves unnecessarily. Though the number of sick was numerous, yet they had borne up for a long time surprisingly against all the ills of the times.

The sick, in whatever part the disease lay, might be divided into two classes : the one, where the re-action of the system was strong ; the other, where it was weak : but here it may be proper to observe, that if the former committed any imprudence, or did not apply for advice in time, some important organ became in several much affected, and although the greater part got well in time, there were a few who at length sunk under the complaint. The former too appeared more sensible of their situation, and were consequently more alarmed than

the latter class, who for the most part were pale and confused from the beginning, exhibiting on the whole more marked symptoms of debility. The head and stomach seemed to be primarily affected more or less in all. In the first, remarkable differences were perceived. Some were pale and comatose, with low delirium and insensibility almost to every thing done to rouse them ; while others were for the first days sensible, but extremely anxious respecting their situation, with flushed face, sometimes of a deep red, and complaints of great headach. A few were furious for a time ; while others with less severe symptoms would first dress themselves, make their escape from their lodging, and call on their friends or acquaintances, to whom they would relate different circumstances of themselves or families, in the most incoherent, but harmless manner.

In a word, at this period, there was not an important organ in the body, that was not found to be affected among the sick. The whole man was placed under its influence. Doubt, alarm, dread took possession of the greater part. A few lost all

hope. I have already mentioned, that by much the greater number who suffered from disease at Longwy, were the young and middle aged ; but during the journey to Beauvais, it was the old who suffered most, as they were not able to bear the fatigue and distress of every kind, that assailed them, especially if they laboured, as several of them did, under any serious chronic complaint.

A distinguishing feature of this epidemic, was the great sensibility to pain expressed in one way or other by all the sick, and which was more or less acute according to the part of the body attacked.

Speaking generally, though there were a few exceptions among the young and plethoric, those who referred their pain to the head, complained the least. In the diseases of the lungs, the pain was of the most oppressive kind, distressing even to behold ; and if copious blood-letting was not instantly had recourse to, and though it were, if the patient exposed himself too soon to the influence of the same causes, he ran imminent risk of his life. In these cases, relapses were more frequent than in the others.

But of all those attacked by this epidemic, they who referred their complaint to the bowels suffered most. Their cries were loud and incessant.

No temperament was exempt from the baleful influence of these fogs. Every physical or moral defect was exposed.

The bold, the gay, the timid, the choleric, the religious, were equally liable, and when attacked, each showed the ruling passion of his mind.

Of the great numbers of sick during the great length of time that sickness prevailed, six only died, viz. four in the town, and two in the barracks. A few also sunk afterwards under the complaint in the hospital. All these cases had assumed the worst character of typhus.

I have already noticed the mortality, that took place among the French inhabitants at two different periods.

The second attack was general, as with us, and prevailed in the same way, indeed was confined to the young and the middle aged ; but among them the low, or nervous fever was most often met with, while with us, this did not take place till towards the

latter period of our residence at Longwy. Then the disease became dangerous and of a contagious nature; for before, or at the beginning, the symptoms of it were for the most part accompanied by, and seemed to arise from inflammation.

About the period that the depot quitted Longwy, a rumour, which had been afloat for some days, that straggling parties of Cossacks had crossed the Rhine, was now made certain by the arrival of the whole of the medical staff with their suite of attendants, which had been stationed in the county of Treves. Accustomed as the French had been to the most splendid victories, all those who were not immediately on the theatre of war, still cherished the hope, that the different armies of the allies would be at length overcome. This illusion was soon to be dissipated from before the eyes of the inhabitants.

On the 4th of January, at midnight, an order arrived, like a thief in the dark, to march the prisoners to Beauvais, in Picardy, and to be *en route* by nine o'clock the following morning. This news was no sooner promulgated, than it spread like wild-fire.

Almost instantly every person was stirring. Crowds with lights were seen traversing the streets incessantly in various directions. Voices were heard on all sides, and for some moments, at first, one would have supposed the enemy at the gates. The French inhabitants were panic-struck. They now regarded their misfortunes as at their height.

In this state of things, on the 5th of January, as soon as day-light appeared, I waited on Mr. Rey de Morande, Commandant of the depot. I reminded him, in a few words, of the state of the sick, and of the absolute necessity there was of supplying the place of their comrades about to leave them, to whose kind offices they had been so much indebted. I proposed to him that permission should be granted to a certain number, to remain behind for a few days for this purpose. In little more than two hours after this, he quitted Longwy.

I afterwards went to the Commandant d'armes; but this gentleman was not *visible*. He was *en conseil de guerre*.

Left thus afloat, and uncertain of his decision, the greater part of the sick and ailing, finding that they would in a few

minutes be deprived of their friends and comrades, resolved to depart.

A few were obliged to remain ; and I addressed a note to the Commandant, praying, that one or two of their countrymen might be permitted to attend them. He refused every request, every petition to this effect ; and it was with much difficulty I could obtain leave for myself and another to remain for a few days at Longwy. This was Mr. John Galachan, of the island of Jersey, whom I had attached to the service of the sick from the first moment of my arrival at Auxonne.

I ventured, at this trying moment, also, to employ Mr. Charles Follette, a native of Bridport, but without permission, in the care of the sick who remained.

I have already taken notice of the consternation of the inhabitants, when they heard we were to quit Longwy. From the moment this was known, to the instant of departure, only a few hours of darkness intervened. So sudden was the change, and so great the disorder, that men of the most assured means could not get a sol on their bills. Intercourse with Paris was

difficult; and the merchants here, as elsewhere, had but too many excuses in the times.

Immediately after the departure of the depot, the inhabitants shut up their shops. Few were seen in the streets. The barracks, heretofore a busy scene, was now a desert. In passing along its avenues, one might observe now and then a poor inhabitant descending some of the stair-cases with the *debris* of what belonged to our countrymen, now left as useless. A dog shut-up, here and there, by accident, howled after his master, who had departed, and increased the desolation of the scene.

The sick, who remained behind, might be divided into two classes: those, who, though in a weak state, were yet sufficiently convalescent to perform little offices for each other; and those, the state of whose minds and bodies disabled them from making any efforts for themselves; far less for others. The difficulty of procuring attendants for them was now very great; and this may be inferred from the following fact, that the French inhabitants could not procure the attendance of a nurse-tender

for one night at a sum less than five, sometimes six francs, and many even refused to attend for any consideration. In the town of Longwy, I could not find an attendant to hire, and one only in the environs, a man apparently about eighty years of age. In one of the rooms there was a stove, in which he made a good fire, provided himself with mattrass, blankets, and pillows from the sick he was hired to attend, and laid himself at his length with his feet to the fire, Indian-fashion, and thus seemed as if he was prepared to meet his own death or theirs after a comfortable and composed manner. What my sick countrymen chiefly felt, was the state of abandonment in which they were placed by the departure of their comrades. In other respects, with the exception of want of attendance, which I did every thing in my power to procure, they had no reason to complain, being most liberally supplied with every thing they stood in need of: wine, in particular, was sent to all, at the expence of the Charitable Fund, excepting three or four, whose means placed them above receiving it. The sick were placed near each other in the

barracks, that they might form a little society, and have the benefit of the assistance of those convalescent.

Here they had remained only a short time, when it occurred to several, that being now somewhat better, though in a weak state, they might get to Beauvais. To whom are we to apply? What conveyance can we procure at a moment when every sort of carriage has been carried off by requisition, and the whole country is in a state of dismay and confusion? From such suggestions as these, several went into the hospital, in the hope that carts or waggons would be ordered for their transport to Beauvais by the French authorities.

It cannot be conceived but by those who were witnesses of it, still less can one adequately convey by words, the cruel situation of the persons left behind at such a moment. Not to speak of the sick, a few of whom were insensible to their situation, one would meet, in different parts of the town, some who hovered about the doors of their former friends and acquaintances, as if in the momentary expectation of seeing them issue forth. Suddenly an

idea of their cruel situation would break in upon them. They recollected that they were departed, and would be seen to hurry away from the spot, not knowing whither they went.

With grief of heart they would accost those of their acquaintances whom chance had brought in their way, and ask unavailing advice. In this state some would return to their ancient habitations to seek intermission to their sufferings in sleep; while others, bereft of it altogether, would have recourse to other means, that gave a feverish and mere momentary relief. When roused from this state of apathy, many have embraced the resolution to depart alone, and on foot, to encounter all the rigours of the winter, and the fatigues of a painful march.

About the beginning of January, finding the fogs less dense, and the symptoms of the epidemic in general more mild, I resolved, on account of fatigue, to remain at home one day, which I fixed for Sunday, the 2d of January.

I had made every arrangement previously, so as to have regular reports from time to time respecting the sick.

Though I mentioned that I would be out the following morning, as usual, by day-light, a gentleman, attributing my absence to illness, called on me and said, that he would write to Verdun and procure me assistance. I told him I believed it was unnecessary, yet that he might do as he pleased ; and he accordingly wrote to Verdun, when Captain Otter, senior naval officer in France, with that zeal and humanity which always distinguished him, sent a Mr. Campbel, if I remember right, to Longwy, who was not enabled to come to my assistance till after the depot had quitted it for Beauvais.

The day of his arrival, and the following, I took him to visit the sick, the greater part of whom, three days after, viz. the 10th, was ordered into the hospital by Monsieur Laveillon.

The few who were permitted to remain in town, which, in some instances, was chiefly owing to the firmness and humanity of the French inhabitants, might amount to eight or nine ; and these, for the most part, though weak, were out of danger.

I now naturally turned my thoughts to the sick and ailing who had left Longwy

for Beauvais in great numbers; and accordingly closed the apothecary's account to the seventh inclusive, at the same time giving him an order to supply Mr. Campbel with such medicines and wine, as he might judge proper for the sick.

I empowered him also to employ one or two persons, could they be procured, to attend them; and I provided him at the same time with an interpreter. This circumstance was the more fortunate, as Mr. Galachan, who had undergone great fatigue for upwards of three months previous to this, was now very unwell; and Mr. Follette, from repeated *Epistaxis*, or loss of blood from the nose, owing to great labour for some days, was scarcely able to do any thing. For their unremitting labour, it is but justice to say, the sick were under the greatest obligations.

On the 11th of January 1814, I bade adieu to Longwy; and as little now was left to do there, the sick in the hospital coming of course under the care of the French medical men attached to it, Mr. Campbel, as I was informed, quitted Longwy shortly after me.

For some time previous to this, the fogs had been dispersing, and the weather became clearer. During my journey to Beauvais, which occupied about eleven days, the cold was severe, accompanied by heavy drifts of snow or sleet. Some affecting scenes took place on the road. To the south-west of Stenay, I saw a groupe of Spaniards paying the last rites of sepulture to one of their countrymen, who had sunk under the accumulated pressure of old age and fatigue.

Such scenes were not uncommon at this period, owing in some measure to the badness of the cross-roads in France, and to the difficulty of obtaining any kind of conveyance. Many, therefore, were deserted on the road, of which number I was one, by the voituriers, who had received beforehand the greater part of their money. Many prisoners belonging to different nations were benighted, and perished during the cold of a long night of fourteen or fifteen hours, before they could arrive at their destination. Hundreds, on arriving at their gîte, perhaps after a journey of some months, were suddenly ordered for

the night to some other place; or often, owing to the confusion which prevailed at this period, to retrace their steps without being able to find a place where they might halt or repose.

My companions and myself were very near experiencing the fate of many others, while passing a trackless wild, then covered with frost and snow, between Voziés and Rheims, only known to the carriers of the country, one of whom we luckily overtook. We occupied two days in passing it.

Through this waste the Romans were perhaps the first that traced a road, along part of which we now and then passed.

On arriving at Rheims, we found it crowded with French troops and prisoners of all nations, so that we were unable to find a lodging, or that repose we stood so much in need of.

Confusion worse confounded reign'd throughout.

Stopping for a moment at Senlis, I remarked a groupe of French, whose various countenances exhibited a lively image of the times. One of them seemed absorbed in thought, and absent to every thing, but

the gloom of his own sufferings. Every now and then he ejaculated broken sentences, one of which caught my ear, as I passed. “*Je pense,*” exclaimed he, “*Je pense que la fin du monde va venir.*”

On arriving at Beauvais, I found disorder and dismay pervading all ranks, and was told that a new destination was marked out for our depot on the Oise, one of the lines in which the Allies were marching.

If every species of difficulty and distress was experienced by the depot, as well before as after quitting Longwy for Beauvais, similar scenes took place on their route to Guise, and afterwards.

This was in part owing to the irregular issue of the marching money allowed to the prisoners, who were thus not unfrequently left entirely destitute.

It is pleasing, however, to be able to relate a trait highly honourable to the French peasantry around Guise. Considerable numbers of the depot were billeted on them, with whom, in this season of general distress, they shared as long as they remained in their houses, their humble re-

pasts: but the report, that the Cossacks were on the eve of visiting this part of the country soon reached Guise. This occasioned the depot to retrace its steps to Beauvais on their way to a new destination, Chatellerault, in the department of the Vienne.

The journey to Guise, together with that to Chatellerault, comprised a space of five weeks and upwards, during which the prisoners were incessantly *en route*, and exposed to many privations and sufferings.

I remained at Beauvais upwards of three weeks, during which I visited the hospital every day. I found twenty-two British belonging to our depot, who had taken refuge here. Numerous detachments of the depot of Cambray passed through Beauvais, during my stay, as also some thousands of Spaniards, to whom I rendered every service, which they stood in need of, in the line of my profession.

Of all the prisoners belonging to the different nations I happened to meet with, in that or any other part of France, the latter, on the whole, appeared to me to be

best able to withstand the pressure of the times. Numerous bodies of them had been employed, chiefly to the northward, on different important works, ordered by the French government.

In every other place too, they were free to engage themselves, if I was informed right, in country-labours, for which they received a small gratuity. As this people are most sensible to cold, it being to them a physical ill, they guard against it by every means in their power. They expended, therefore, their little savings in procuring comfortable clothing; and this, added to their great sobriety, may perhaps sufficiently account for the difference.

The depot arrived at Chatellerault, about the end of February, 1814. This being an open town, and not sufficiently large to accommodate the whole of the prisoners, a part was ordered to Issoudun, a place of some note in the department of the Indre. They remained but a very short time there, as it was expected that it would be soon changed into one of the theatres of the war. They were now divided into two

detachments. One was sent to Leblanc, which lies in the department of the Indre : the other to Tournon, which is situated on the river Creuse, one side of which belongs to the department of the Indre ; the other to that of the Indre and the Loire.

I did not lose sight of these two detachments of our countrymen, having taken the very first opportunity to point out to our Committee, that they were both equally entitled to have a medical man to attend them, as that with which I remained at Chatellerault. A young gentleman of the name of Vigours, an Englishman, was sent to Leblanc. He belonged to the depot of merchant mariners, which would have derived considerable benefit from his industry and talents during the sickly period at Longwy, had he not himself nearly fallen a victim to the epidemic at that place.

As soon as I learned that it was the wish of Mr. Robert Thomson, belonging to the depot of Bitche, to remain at Chatellerault, I waited on the Commandant, Mr. Rey de Morande, who granted the permission. This step was first necessary,

previous to his taking the charge of the detachment of Tournon ; but the scenes, that were at this time rapidly passing, prevented his joining that detachment. I took care, however, to send the medicines, that were necessary for them.

The prisoners from Bitche took Châtellerault, on their way to Clermont, in Auvergne. They had now been four months *en route*, and several of them I found very unwell. As soon as they arrived at the latter place, it was the moment of their liberation, and the end of their unparalleled sufferings in France. Many of them had spent years in the souterrains of Bitche.

We likewise had not been long at Châtellerault, when we received fresh orders to proceed to Rennes, in Brittany ; but events too well known to be now recapitulated, prevented any change from our present residence. It was here that the first Courier, who brought the news of the abdication of Bonaparte was detained for two hours. This delay, according to report, was the cause of the melancholy battle of Toulouse. His Report was not credited by the Sous-Prefet ; but the second

Courier confirmed it. This country is classic ground, and its ancient fame is increased by the deeds of modern days.

It is only justice, that is due to the inhabitants of this place, to declare, that they were remarkably attentive and civil to us, during our stay.


The hospital was very full at this period, owing to the passage of troops to and from Spain, and from receiving the sick prisoners of other countries. I have visited it several times. The food here was abundant and excellent. Its internal economy was chiefly under the management of the Sœurs de la Charité, whose cheering looks, cleanliness, and unremitted attention in the discharge of their duties, cannot be too much nor too often praised.

I shall close these Sketches with just observing, that owing to the retrograde movement to Guise, our depot had gone over as much ground as any other in France, with the exception of that of Bitché.

Similar causes produced similar events. Disease followed us from Longwy to Châtelierault, but it was by no means so general.

The season was now more mild. We had a more genial sun. Our resources too became more abundant, and we enjoyed a sort of repose and comfort, to which we had been strangers for upwards of two months.

APPENDIX.



No. I.

A DONATION was paid out of it quarterly to each master and mate, as also to merchant passengers and foreigners of the same description.

A regular sum was advanced monthly to all those on the under-tonnage list; that is, to those who had the command of vessels not exceeding 80 tons burden, in order to put them as near as possible on a footing with their brother prisoners; being classed by the French government with sailors, and treated accordingly.

If a prisoner or prisoners arrived, as often happened, the day after the pay for the month was issued, the books being closed, they received no pay till the following month. Each prisoner, then, according to the exigency of his case, received something to support him during that period, out of the charitable fund.

The women too, had a monthly allowance for themselves and children; besides occasional aids, &c. &c.

No. II.

In some of the other depots, the number of sick were still greater from various causes, particularly in that of Arras, where the deaths in one year only (1808), amounted to 250.

No. III.

The *Chapeau à vendre*, which literally alluded to the hats that belonged to the slain in battle, was here applied to individual prisoners, who were actually killed; while the *Blessure à l'aune*, meant such as were severely wounded by the soldiers, which not unfrequently happened on trivial pretences of misconduct. Several instances of both occurred during our captivity in France.

At Auxonne and Longwy, the names of Andrew Farmer, Thomas Stewart, William Smith, James Butcher, will be familiarly known to some of my readers.

They were all severely wounded, almost without cause.

No. IV.

Troisième Division Militaire, Place de Longwy, Empire
Français.

À Longwy, le 12 de Novembre, 1812.

Le Chef de Bataillon, Laveillon, Commandant d'Armes,
et Membre de la Legion d'Honneur,

A Monsieur Couley, Lieutenant de la Gen'd'armerie
Imperiale, Commandant le Depôt des Prisonniers
Anglais.

Le Général se plaint, avec raison, mon cher Com-
mandant, que l'on fait conduire à l'hôpital de Metz des
prisonniers pour des maladies legères ; que les transports
sont extrêmement onereux au gouvernement, et fatiguant
à la gen'd'armerie. Il est instruit, que plusieurs prisonniers,
non malades, qui declarent eux mêmes n'y aller que pour
changer d'air ; et d'autres ; pour prendre des bains pour
des rheumatismes. Que ce la n'arrive plus, je vous en prie.
Nous devons par état et par inclination prendre les intêrets
du gouvernement.

En consequence il ne sera plus delivré des billets
d'hôpital, que sur un certificat de Monsieur, Chirurgen, du
Regiment. Le Général m'engage de presser l'établis-
sement d'un hôpital au quartier. Je croyais que vous lui
aviez ecrit à ce sujet, que le bureau de bienfaisance (The

English Committee) n'ayant pas des fonds avait répondu que cet établissement ne pouvait pas avoir lieu.

J'ai l'honneur, &c. &c.

(Signé) LAVEILLON.

Le Commandant du Dépôt des Prisonniers de Guerre
Anglais,

À Monsieur Mulvey,

MONSIEUR,

Ayant appris, que plusieurs officiers, prisonniers de guerre Anglais, du dépôt que je commande, renvoyés de l'hôpital de Metz comme incurables, demandent à y retourner, je vous invite, par la présente, de ne point donner des billets pour les faire retourner au dit hôpital, étant expressément défendu même sur leurs billets de sortie. J'ai l'honneur de vous saluer avec une parfaite considération.

(Signé) COULEY.

No. V.

The two following letters, of which I have some curious specimens, but too numerous to insert, throw light on this subject.

MR. C.

I take the opportunity of this correspondence of writing to you, that although the weather was pretty mild

in my passage from Longwy to Metz, I nevertheless was very much fatigued before I arrived here, for the three or four first days that I was here.

Every morning I had a strong fever, and entirely lost my appetite. After I got the better of that, I was three days attacked with a violent headach, that I could not get out of bed, after which it left me; and afterwards I came to take my regular night's rest, and continued to do so.

My inward complaint is a deal better than it was, but far from being well.

This hospital is very well for those who may have the itch, or, for those that may be wounded, or may have rheumatic pains, for they can get good hot baths; but I think it is only an indifferent place for a man that is sick, although the Doctor is a very good sort of a man.

All that I can say of it, you have a good bed and your victuals regular; but as for quietness, you must not look for it here from eight in the morning till nine at night, for there are very few here that are sick.

All the Spanish officers that come from any other depot have the parole of the yard, and are in the French officers' ward; as likewise those that come from Verdun. They come on their parole, are in the liberty ward; but as for the Longwy gentlemen, there is not more liberty for them than a French conscrip.

Give my respects to your wife. I hope your children are both well. Be so good as write, and let us know of your news. Not more at present, from your

Wellwisher,

R. C.

DEAR FRIEND,

I hope these few lines from your sincere friend will find you in good health. As to me, I am sorry to inform you, that my state of health is worse and worse every day, so that at present my strength is so exhausted, that I am confined, I may safely say, to my death-bed; and as to attendance, there is none here for a sick person, except what we give to each other; therefore, dear friend, unless you see me shortly here, never expect to see me again, as my present situation will not permit me to subsist but a very short time. I am, my dear M. to the last moment, your sincere friend and well-wisher.

(Signed) E. W.

Hospital of Metz, 23d Feb. 1813.

I procured permission for M. to go and see his friend, whose eyes he was just in time to close.

No. VI.

When I was on my way to Longwy, March 1811, I passed through Dijon, where I went to visit some of our unfortunate countrymen, then in prison, who belonged to the depot of Auxonne.

Their daily allowance was, I think, a pound and a half of ammunition bread, three sols a day, and a little wood for cooking; while it cost each of them daily for his dinner and bed twenty-one sols, equal to tenpence halfpenny British.

I ventured to go several leagues out of the way, that I might pass through Verdun, to the Committee of which place, as I had before done by letter from Dijon, I represented their unfortunate condition.

No. VII.

A considerable part of 1810 elapsed, before a general sortie was allowed, during which time several of the prisoners were permitted to reside at some distance from Auxonne, on account of the delicate state of their health.

No. VIII.

Dijon, ce 7 de Mar, 1811.

Je vous annonce, mon cher docteur, avec la plus vive satisfaction, que vous arriverez à Longwy tel, que vous êtes arrivé à Auxonne, c'est à dire, librement. Le general m'a accordé cette faveur et je m'empresse de vous l'apprendre. Le general étant malade et desirant vous consulter sur sa situation, vous feriez bien partir Samedi ou Dimanche, attendu qu'il desire s'en retourner lundi prochain. Tâchez d'arriver de bonne heure pour que je puisse vous presenter à lui le même jour, que vous arriverez.

Adieu, mon cher Docteur,

(Signé)

DE BROSSE.

No. IX.

It was universally believed, that Colonel Bertrand also had given us a bad character. It was very certain, that he was not content with us, as may be collected from the following letter, and his answer to it.

Monsieur le Colonel,

J'ai l'honneur de vous prévenir, qu'en qualité de capitaine d'infanterie, je n'ai été jamais assujetti à aucun appel dans les dépôts ou j'ai été. Mon intention n'est pas de deserter, j'ose vous l'assurer. Les soins, que je dois à ma femme et à mes quatre enfants en bas âge, me font espérer, que vous voudriez bien me faire jouir de la même faveur, que j'ai joui dans les autres dépôts.

(Signé)

C. R.

S'il eut dépendu de moi, Monsieur le Capitaine, vous jouiriez encore de l'exemption des appels, que mon prédcesseur vous avait accordés : mais les ordres impératifs, que j'ai reçus, m'otent le pouvoir de faire aucune exception à cet égard et vous devez par consequent vous y soumettre. L'exemple, que vous donnerez, contribuera sans doute à rendre vos compatriotes plus exacts, car j'ai beaucoup à m'en plaindre sous ce rapport.

J'ai l'honneur de vous saluer,

Le chef d'escadron,

Commandant le dépôt des prisonniers Anglais,

(Signé)

BERTRAND.

Auxonne, ce 8 de Novembre, 1810.

There were different modes to ascertain the presence of the prisoners. In some depôts their names were inscribed in books, for which purpose they were obliged to attend twice a-day daily. Some were permitted to inscribe their names only, every 5th or 6th day, or even monthly, and for this purpose a gen'd'arme went to their lodging. In other places, as at Auxonne, Longwy, Chatellerault, the presence of the prisoners was ascertained by means of appels twice a-day. At certain periods I have known them take place three times a-day.

The general review was made once every month under the eye of the superior authorities of the place, in order to make a return to the minister of war of all those, who received pay from the French government.

As a medical man, having the charge of the depôt, I was exempt from appels at Auxonne, Longwy, Chatellerault; and as I received no pay from the French government for about ten of the eleven years, that I was captive, my presence could not be required on that account.

No. X.

For myself personally I was indebted to him on various occasions. It was through his means I procured the Mathematical Hall to serve as a school-room and church, for the use of the prisoners.

Le Commandant du depôt a la plaisir d'annoncer à Monsieur le Docteur, qu'a sa sollicitation, il a fait la

demande de la Salle des Mathematiques à Monsieur le Commandant de l'Arsenal pour le service du culte Anglican. Monsieur le commandant de l'arsenal lui a promis la clef pour demain. Le commandant est flatté d'avoir trouvé l'occasion de faire quelque chose, qui soit agréable à Monsieur le Docteur Mulvey. Il saisira avec empressement toutes celles, ou il pourra lui donner des preuves de son sincère attachement.

(Signé)

DE BROSSE.

No. XI.

Paris, le 11 Juin, 1812.

À Monsieur le Commandant du Dépôt de Verdun.

Ministere de la Guerre,

5^{me} Division, Bureau des Prisonniers de Guerre.

Monsieur,

Je suis informé, qu'il a été écrit de Cambrai aux prisonniers de guerre Anglais à Verdun, qui recoivent et distribuent à leurs compatriotes des secours provenant des souscriptions particulières pour leur demander de faire faire sur ce fonds les reparations necessaires pour loger les prisonniers dans un chapelle, qui fait partie du local du dépôt de Cambrai.

Cette proposition si inconvenante sous tous les rapports paroît n'avoir eu de suite. Je desire néanmoins que vous fassiez connaître aux officiers Anglais, auxquels elle a été faite, que j'ai reconnu que ce bâtiment ne seroit pas suffisamment salubre pour le logement des

prisonniers et que dans *aucun* cas, je ne consentirois, à ce que les Anglais reçussent de leurs compatriotes ce qu'ils ont droit d'attendre du gouvernement Français.

Recevez, Monsieur, l'assurance de ma consideration,

Le Ministre de la Guerre,

(Signé)

DUC DE FELTRE.

Au Baron Beauchesne,

Commandant à Verdun.

FINIS.

